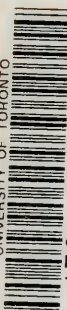


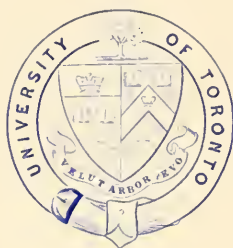
PATRIOTISM.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN



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Patriotism.



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Patriotism.

Address delivered to the Students of the
University of Glasgow.

By the Right Hon.
J.^{Joseph} CHAMBERLAIN,
M.P., LL.D., D.C.L.,

on November 3rd, 1897,
on the occasion of his installation as Lord Rector.

Westminster:
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PATRIOTISM.

MY first duty is to thank you for the great honour which you have conferred upon me in electing me to fill a position which in past times has been dignified by so many illustrious men. Since Francis Jeffrey delivered the first address, pronounced under similar circumstances, the history of the Lord Rectorship of the University of Glasgow has been in some sort a record of the public life and intellectual activity of the United Kingdom:—politicians, poets and preachers—the representatives of letters and of science—

men of thought and men of action—have successively occupied this platform, and have anticipated me in the task which I have undertaken to perform.

The honour that you have done me has been enhanced by the fact that it was unsolicited, and unexpected; and that it has been conferred by the unanimous voice of the four Nations which form the constituent body. My appreciation of it has been quickened by the sense that I possess none of those claims of previous association, of birth or nationality, or of academic distinction, which in many cases have guided and justified your selection, and that your choice has therefore been determined solely by your generous appreciation of a public service which has now extended over a period of nearly thirty years.

In the course of this interval of time, to

which for a moment I look back, momentous changes have taken place in the constitution and situation of this Kingdom—public opinion has altered greatly on many of the questions which occupied it at the beginning of the period—false judgments have been corrected, and new ideals have been formed—the leaders and teachers of my youth have most of them passed away, and we can now estimate their characters uninfluenced by the heat of the controversies which they provoked, and can judge them impartially in the light of the results which they achieved.

When so much has altered—persons, opinions and circumstances—I should think it a poor boast to pretend that I alone had remained unchanged; but, in view of the confidence that you have now vouchsafed to me, I ask you to believe that, through all the

vicissitudes of things, I have consistently sought—it may be sometimes with faltering steps and by mistaken roads—the greatness of the Empire and the true welfare of the people at large. This is not the place nor the time to indicate how far these objects have been advanced during the past thirty years. I would rather look forward to the future—the future which belongs to the young, and which will be shaped by the next generation, who have it in their power to undo or to carry on our work. It is this sense that the younger generation may at their pleasure realise or defeat the hopes which we have formed for the future, that makes their approbation so grateful to a Statesman who looks beyond his own life and tries to prefigure the destinies of his race and country.

A thought of this kind has suggested to

me the subject on which I propose to speak this afternoon. It would be presumptuous in me to follow the example set by many of my predecessors, and to advise you in the prosecution of the studies which are to fit you for your several places in the world. I will only venture to remind you of one universal precept and rule of success, which, spoken long before universities were thought of, applies to academic studies as it does to every action and decision of human life—"Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." No work is worth doing badly ; and he who puts his best into every task that comes to him will surely outstrip the man who waits for a great opportunity before he condescends to exert himself.

But I propose to speak to you on a subject, which, although of more importance to your country than any classical or mathe-

matical learning, yet forms no portion of any curriculum, and remains without a Chair and without a text-book. "Learning," says Lord Bacon, "should be made subservient to action;" and your action will largely depend on the conception which you form in youth of the duties and privileges involved in that greatest of civic virtues, and most important element of national character, which we now call Patriotism.

What is this Patriotism, this almost universal instinct for which more men have given their lives than for any other cause, and which counts more martyrs than even Religion itself—this potent sentiment which has produced so many splendid deeds of heroic bravery and of unselfish devotion—which has inspired Art, and stimulated Literature, and furthered Science—which has fostered liberty, and won independence, and

advanced civilization—and which, on the other hand, has sometimes been misunderstood and perverted, and made the excuse for brutal excesses and arbitrary tyranny?

Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary tells us that a patriot is “one whose ruling passion is the love of his country,” and that Patriotism is “love and zeal for one’s country,” and we may accept these definitions as his serious interpretation of the words, although, as we shall see directly, the Doctor indulged on another occasion in a more cynical explanation.

But have the words always borne this interpretation? Some time ago, when pursuing a different subject, I noticed incidentally the fact that they do not occur once in the whole of Shakespeare’s writings. The omission seemed to me suggestive, and I communicated through a friend with

Dr. Murray, the editor of that wonderful monument of patient and discriminating scholarship and erudition, the new English Dictionary. By his kindness, I am informed that the word "patriot" was taken immediately from the French, where it was in use as early as the fifteenth century in the sense of "citizen," "fellow-citizen," or "compatriot." It occurs occasionally in the literature of the sixteenth century, at the end of which it was accompanied by such adjectives as "good," "true," or "worthy," which ultimately were imported into the meaning of the noun, till finally a "patriot" necessarily implied a good citizen and a true lover of his country. The transitional stages are illustrated by the words of the Preface to King James' Bible in 1611—"Was Catiline a good patriot that sought to bring the city to a combustion;" and again by

Milton, who spoke in his letter on Education of "living to be brave men and worthy patriots." But by the end of the century the modern use of the word was fully established, and when Dryden writes of men who usurped "a patriot's all attoning name," patriot is used alone and without an adjective as equivalent to a good son of his country.

This gradual evolution of meaning suggests the probability that the sentiment itself has undergone transformations, and we shall find accordingly that, although love of country is as old as the history of the nations, the particular form of this universal feeling which we now associate with the name of Patriotism is really one of the manifestations of that spirit of the age, a comprehension of which was impressed upon your predecessors by Lord Beaconsfield,

when he was Lord Rector of your University, as an essential part of education.

But before attempting these finer distinctions, let me extend somewhat our original definition. Patriotism presupposes a *patria* or *patrie*, and Lord Shaftesbury in his "Characteristics" quaintly complains of our language that we have no word to express our native community but that of *country*, which already is used in two other senses as the equivalent of the Latin *rus* and *regio* and the French *campagne* and *pays*. He ridicules the idea of a Patriotism founded on the accident of birthplace alone, pointing out that, in this case, a Briton born at sea would have no country but the ocean, and no countrymen but the fishes and monsters of the deep. The justification of the sentiment must be found in something more than attachment to the soil, which might be attri-

buted to a fungus; and depends on the pursuit of common interests, the defence of a common independence, and the love of common liberties. It is strengthened by a common history and common traditions, and it is part of a national character formed under these conditions. It implies undoubtedly an exclusive preference, and this is sometimes made an accusation against it; but, in this respect, it is only the natural development of that sentiment of filial and domestic affection which has characterised the relations of kindred since men first dwelt together in families.

The tribe is a larger family and has called forth many of the feelings which we connect with Patriotism, such as reverence for tradition, respect for ancestors, and preferential regard for common interests; but, having no country, the nomads of the desert and the

prairie could not be patriots in the modern sense.

The Patriotism of the Jews was a religious exclusiveness fanatically cherished and centred in Jerusalem, as the site of the Temple, and the City peculiarly favoured by Jehovah.

The Greeks were animated by an intense Patriotism which was, however, almost universally narrowed to the City. Once or twice in their history the cities of Greece united in a true sentiment of national devotion against a foreign enemy, but the union was only for the moment of danger, and the Patriotism of Athens, or Sparta, or Corinth, nourished on the rivalries of small communities, was a municipal rather than a national sentiment.

The Romans, with their subject provinces tributary to the Mother City, never secured,

or even attempted to create, that community of interest and equality of privilege throughout their Empire which might have gained for it the patriotic support of all its population. The feeling may have been more intense among the actual citizens of Rome in proportion as it was more restricted; but it was certainly confined to a very small proportion of those who lived under the Roman Eagles; and it differed in degree and in character from the sentiment which has since exercised so great an influence on civilized States.

But even in later times the ideas connected with the word have undergone change and development. During the whole of the Middle Ages the multiplicity of States and petty provinces and free cities led to endless disputes and aggressions, and provoked a spirit of intestine conflict which was

alien to any real devotion to country or nation.

Men fought and paid taxes to support the claims of their rulers, with little personal interest in the result; and sometimes on one side, sometimes on another, as the immediate ambitions of their leaders dictated, there was no fixed standard to which all paid allegiance. The conflicts of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines—the Thirty Years' War in Germany, or the Wars of the Roses in England, not to speak of a thousand petty struggles—battles, as Milton calls them, of the kites and the crows—the memories of which are only preserved in local histories, were altogether unfavourable to the growth and maintenance of any but the most restricted Patriotism, exhibited in connection with a particular city at some special period of its history.

It is to be noted, however, that there was one moment when a really national sentiment was evoked in France; where, for a short time, Joan of Arc aroused an enthusiasm which, uniting all Frenchmen in a common object, freed the soil of the country from its foreign rulers. But when she died, betrayed by those she had served so well, and martyred at the hands of enemies too frightened of her influence to be either just or generous, the enmities and the jealousies, for a moment allayed, soon revived, and all national feeling was lost in domestic broils and personal quarrels.

It is only slowly that nations are definitely formed. Artificial and arbitrary arrangements of territory, and populations distributed against their will, make no solid basis for the structure of national unity. But, gradually, we find the same causes

working to the same ends in every country, although operating upon them at different times. France, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Germany, by some process of unconscious affinity, or natural selection, or political necessity, have become nations in the true sense of the word; and this change has been assisted by the growth of that National Patriotism, of which it is now one of the first and most urgent duties, in all these cases, to maintain the unity which it has created.

If Patriotism has aided the work of consolidation, it has itself been stimulated and strengthened in proportion as its sphere of interest has been enlarged. The individual patriotism of cities and provinces and weaker nationalities has not been extinguished, but there has arisen a wider and nobler patriotism, in which has been merged much

that was mean and narrow in the provincial or parochial sentiment. There exists to-day in the provinces of France and Italy, in the kingdoms and principalities of Germany, and in the cantons of Switzerland, a local and separate, but perfectly legitimate and laudable, pride in their distinctive traditions, race, and character; but this sentiment is now only ancillary to the wider patriotism of a Frenchman, an Italian, a German, or a Swiss.

But, besides the multiplicity of petty and conflicting interests which for a long time delayed the growth of the patriotic sentiment, two causes influenced the character of the feeling. The first was the intensity of religious differences, which produced a line of division more marked than that of race or nationality. The Catholic Frenchman, for instance, in the time of Charles IX.,

was further removed in sympathy from his Huguenot fellow-countryman than from any foreigner of Catholic opinions. At that time, and during the Thirty Years' War in Germany, the feelings of loyalty and devotion, which we associate with Patriotism, were engendered by attachment to a faith, and not by love of country.

The other cause, which gives a different complexion to the national sentiment, was its personification in the Prince or Ruler. Louis XIV. said truly, "*L'État c'est moi*," and the boast of Frenchmen in his day was that "*Nous sommes les sujets du plus grand Roi du monde*." The ideas of duty and self-sacrifice took the shape of personal loyalty to the Sovereign. The dynasty represented the greatness and unity of the Nation; and the crime of treason was the most execrable of all human offences.

The fact is that in its present sense the idea of Patriotism was not generally accepted till the French Revolution, when loyalty to the Monarch was rudely divorced from loyalty to the country, and the dangers which threatened the existence and independence of their native land roused the masses of the French people, who for the first time felt their responsibility, to a fervour of enthusiasm and devotion such as the world had never witnessed before.

It was in truth a new sentiment—no longer sanctioned and encouraged, as in the past by the prestige of the Monarch, the claims of the Church, or the exigent demands of a privileged aristocracy—but a popular outburst of exclusive pride in a country which the masses of the people had just discovered to be their own, and an overwhelming confidence in the infallibility of

principles and institutions to which they owed their newly acquired rights of possession.

It was characterised by all the virtues, and disfigured by all the abuses of which the sentiment is capable. It was more intense, more devoted, and, at the same time, more arbitrary, and more aggressive, than it has ever been before or since; the name of patriot became the exclusive property of the partisans of the Revolution in its worst excesses as well as in its nobler principles; but both in its best and its worst evolutions, it was an agency of incalculable energy and force. Beginning as a legitimate and praiseworthy movement for the defence of the liberties of the country against the attacks of foreign despots, and protesting its respect for the Rights of Man and the fraternity of peoples, it hurled back the combination of

its foes, and then, forgetting its principles, and intoxicated by a sense of power, embarked on a crusade of fanatical proselytism, and asserted its claims to impose its own dogmas on reluctant nationalities, with as much indifference to their feelings as any Mahommedan conqueror.

Throughout all this period of Titanic struggle Patriotism was the most potent factor in the contest, and ultimately decided the issue. Animated by Patriotism, which gave to her armies a superhuman strength, France was able to confound all the efforts of her enemies. Then, ignoring in other nations a love of independence and freedom as strenuous as her own, she at last created and evoked in them this all-powerful sentiment, and was in the end driven back to her frontiers by an exhibition of the same spirit as that which had enabled her to defend

them. Stein and Hardenberg, in Prussia, taught their countrymen to emulate the Patriotism which the Revolution had induced in their neighbours, and turned to account, in their indomitable defence of the independence of their own country, the popular feeling which had proved itself so irresistible in France.

The degradation of Patriotism in France, and its growth in the rest of the continent, was greatly due to the policy of the first Napoleon, who, as Comte reminds us, was almost a foreigner in France, and whose enormous personal ambition was accompanied by a superstitious reverence for the ancient hierarchy. He was enabled by his genius to pervert the sentiment of Patriotism into immorality, and once more to identify it with personal rule. But when he fell, destroyed by the Patriotism which he had

created in other nations, at the same time that he undermined it in his own, French Patriotism flowed in quieter channels during the Monarchy and the Second Empire; until, in our own days, we have seen its splendid resurrection in the dignity, the devotion, and the courage, with which France has repaired the disasters of "the terrible year." I know of no eloquence more touching, more imbued with the true fervour of genuine Patriotism, than that in which Gambetta, the greatest of the statesmen of modern France, apostrophises his country as the mother of sorrows, and claims for her in her defeat and her humiliation a love deeper than the pride with which she should be hailed in the hour of victory and triumph.

It is not too much to say that if France to-day is still a great nation, a centre of intellectual activity and a pioneer of civilisa-

tion, she owes this position entirely to the fact that her greatest statesmen, writers, and preachers, have never ceased to foster the spirit of Patriotism among her people.

There is one fact in connection with all the recent manifestations of national Patriotism which is especially to be emphasised. It is that, now and henceforth, we are dealing with an entirely popular sentiment—not confined to individuals or to classes, but identified inseparably with the national character. It has become a democratic passion, and has ceased to be a privileged distinction.

The cause of the change is not far to seek. In his great work on Democracy in America, De Tocqueville points out, with his usual keenness of analysis, that there are two kinds of Patriotism—that of instinct and that of reason. The former disinterested,

undefinable, but associating the affections with the place of birth, and united with a love for old customs, and a respect for old traditions. The Patriotism of reason, on the other hand, is due to a perception of the personal interest of the citizen, and depends on his having a share in the government of his country and on his identifying himself with its prosperity and security.

It may be doubted, perhaps, if the distinction can be thus strictly drawn, and if the Patriotism of instinct is always disinterested, or if the Patriotism of reason is altogether indifferent to sentimental considerations; but it is at least certain that the enjoyment of independence, and a consciousness of a share in the responsibility of government, are necessary to the full development of a feeling which largely depends on a sense of ownership; and that

the growth of liberties has conduced to that widely diffused and popular Patriotism which is the strong defence of nations and the security for their freedom. The Patriotism of a king, of an aristocracy, or of a privileged class, has indeed influenced at all times the history of the world, but the Patriotism which has entered into the life blood of a whole nation is likely to prove a still more powerful agency in maintaining its stability and stimulating its progress.

I have dwelt on the experiences of France at some length, because the patriotic spirit has played so prominent a part in its history. But every nation which has shared the feeling has given to it a distinctive national character, and has derived from it distinctive advantages and disadvantages. French patriotism has, in accordance with national characteristics, been more passionate, more

assertive, more excitable, than any other. It has led the nation into great excesses, it has stimulated its vanity, it has rendered it unjust to the merits of others, and has sometimes tempted it to abuse its own strength and power. But it has also kept alive its intellectual activity, sustained its self-respect in times of adversity, carried its arms to the successful vindication of its liberties, placed it in the front rank of the nations of the world, and induced among its citizens the most splendid examples of heroism, self-sacrifice, and personal devotion.

Time would fail me to follow the influence of this feeling on the other nationalities of Europe. Patriotism has secured the unity of Germany and of Italy. It has created and consolidated the enormous empire of Russia, and it has preserved the independence of Switzerland and Holland.

But I pass on to consider it more especially in connection with the history of our own country. In England the long drawn-out vicissitudes of the Hundred Years' War with France offered little opportunity for the display of this sentiment. The struggle between Norman nobles settled in England, and French princes with conflicting claims of heirship and possession, constituted a sanguinary lawsuit in which English yeomen testified their loyalty to their feudal superiors, with slight personal interest in the conflict and with no national issues of supreme importance at stake. As in France so in England, love of country showed itself in devotion to the king or ruler in whom the country was personified.

In such circumstances we cannot look for the Patriotism of reason; although the Patriotism of instinct, with all its passionate

affection and generous sacrifice, may not be wanting; and in this connection it is worth noting that although Shakespeare has made no use of the words, the true spirit of patriotism breathes in every line of that splendid passage in which the dying John of Gaunt apostrophises his country:—

“ This other Eden—demi Paradise,

“ This fortress built by Nature for herself,

“ Against infection and the hand of war,

“ This happy breed of men, this little world,

“ This precious stone set in the silver sea,

“ Which serves it in the office of a wall

“ Or as a moat defensive to a house,

“ Against the envy of less happier lands,

“ This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England.”

Yet it is instructive and interesting to notice that in the same sentences, he indicates as the chief source of his love and pride that his country is:—

“ This royal throne of *Kings*, this sceptred isle,

“ This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,

* * * * *

“ This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,

“ Feared by their breed, and famous by their birth.”

In the civil wars which followed the death of Henry V., loyalty must frequently have been in doubt which King to follow, and when even families were separated in hostile camps a common Patriotism was impossible. But after the earlier Tudors had consolidated their power, and in the time of Elizabeth, the genius of the nation began to find its bent and to carry with it the popular interest from which Patriotism is evolved. The attempted aggression of Philip II. so roused the pride and the indignation of the English people, that, in spite of the bitterness of the religious controversy which was still raging, Catholic

and Protestant, noble and peasant, vied with each other in their eagerness to defend their “water walled bulwark—hedged in with the main.”

The reign of Elizabeth marks also the future direction of the energies of the British race, and gives the first clear indication of that restless and audacious spirit of enterprise which was to make the ocean our highway, and to conduct us to an unexampled dominion in every part of the globe. The feeling ebbed and flowed according as the seat of authority was filled by Cromwell or Charles II., by James or William III. ; but the conviction remained deep seated in the minds of the British people that they had found their mission and that the sceptre of empire had been definitely placed in their hands.

Throughout the greater part of the

eighteenth century, however, patriotism tended to become a byeword and almost a reproach. The word was abused as a weapon in political controversy, seldom indeed in connection with our foreign relations, but constantly as a method of stigmatising the iniquities of a party at home. When Bolingbroke undertook to write an essay on the Spirit of Patriotism, he produced only a pamphlet directed against his political opponents; and when he subsequently attempted to describe a Patriot King, it is evident that he thought the first test of such a monarch would be his preference of Henry Bolingbroke to Robert Walpole. Lesser men than Bolingbroke were not slow to imitate his example. No borough-monger was so corrupt, no office-seeker so base, no scribbler so scurrilous—that he did not dub himself a patriot, and everyone

who differed from him a traitor to his country. And so was justified the exclamation of Johnson, uttered, be it noted in the presence of Mr. Fox, that patriotism was "the last refuge of a scoundrel," and the assurance of Junius that "nothing will satisfy a Patriot but a place."

But while the main purpose of Bolingbroke's essays must be held to be the discrediting of his political opponents, there is in the "Patriot King" one incidental sentence which does in some measure recognise the existence of that national ambition which, kindled by Drake and Raleigh and Grenville, and never since extinguished, has constantly burned in the hearts of the British nation. "To give ease," he says, "and encouragement to manufactory at home, to assist and protect trade abroad, to improve and keep in heart the national colonies like so many

farms of the mother country, will be principal and constant parts of the attention of a Patriot Prince."

If these aspirations have been at times silent, discouraged by official indifference, they have never wholly died in the popular imagination; and we have been privileged to see, in connection with the celebrations of a Reign, admirable in all its personal features and glorious in its Imperial attributes, a spontaneous outburst of enthusiasm for the unity and kinship of the Empire which may well quicken the blood and raise the hopes of

" All the loyal hearts who long
To keep our English Empire whole."

In this necessarily brief and imperfect review of the history of Patriotism I have not spoken separately of Scottish and of Irish Patriotism before the Union between the three countries. By the necessity of the

case, and as we have seen in the history of the separate provinces or nationalities of other European countries, it was bound to find its expression in hostility to its more powerful neighbour. Now that England, most happily for itself, has been for so long absorbed by Scotland, and united to Ireland, the streams of local Patriotism should form one river, and the emulation which may still properly continue should be no more than the friendly rivalry between members of the same family.

But while we are bound to-day to recognise no Patriotism which does not embrace the United Kingdom—and I would like to add the British Empire—there is no Englishman worthy of the name who will fail to sympathise with Scotsmen who celebrate the memory of Wallace and of Bruce, or with Irishmen who recall the

exploits of leaders who have fought and suffered for Irish rights. We are proud of all that is great and noble in the history of the sister kingdoms:—it has become part of the history of the greater nation of which we are each a member; and we appreciate the striking and eloquent words in which Lord Rosebery summed up the results of this local Patriotism and said that, but for it, “the centuries of which we are so proud—so full of energy and passion and dramatic history—might have passed silently and heedlessly over a dark and unknown province.”

How much the United Kingdom as a whole has gained by the influence of this feeling on its policy it is hardly necessary to say. Although our Patriotism has been of a sober kind, little aided by such commemorations as have been the rule in other

countries, and often slighted and discouraged by those in authority, it has nevertheless burned with a steady flame in all times of stress and danger; and has enabled the Nation to maintain its place, to carry out its work in the face of the most formidable combinations, and to create an Empire which has extorted the admiration and sometimes the envy of foreign observers. "England," wrote a German editor the other day, in a spirit which we may well wish were more frequently imitated by Continental critics, "has interests to defend over the whole earth; her ships cruise in all oceans, and the red coats of her soldiers are to be seen in every continent. She fights in all quarters of the globe, often under the greatest difficulties, and constantly with comparatively insignificant military forces, yet almost invariably holds her ground; and, indeed, not

only defends what she has, but is incessantly adding to her possessions. Threatened and fully occupied on the Indian frontier, Great Britain simultaneously conducts a victorious campaign in Egypt against powerful, dangerous and ruthless foes. This manifestation of universal power, this defence and extension of a world-wide empire, such as has not been paralleled for nearly twenty centuries, gives fresh proof of the invincible and unbroken vigour and vitality of the Anglo-Saxon race. England is still a distinguished pioneer of civilization, and the best wishes of her people always accompany these enterprises, which are undertaken, not only to extend her power and dominion, but also to promote indirectly the interests of humanity and civilization. The British sword is always followed by the British plough and ship, and it is this which esta-

blishes the success of her forward policy, since it constantly affords to it fresh justification."

On a review of the whole subject, it will be evident to you that the sentiment of which we have been speaking has grown and widened with the advance of civilization and the progress of liberty. To-day it is more powerful than ever before, and it is strongest in the most democratic communities—in France, in Switzerland, in the United States, and in the United Kingdom. Its influence has everywhere tended to secure toleration in religious controversies, and to moderate the bitterness of party contest. It has lessened the frequency of war by encouraging the union of smaller states and nationalities, and thereby decreasing the occasions of strife. So long as it was restricted to limited interests it was restless,

jealous and aggressive, but with enlarging scope and responsibility it has shown itself more inclined to respect the rights of others, while still claiming the exclusive devotion of its own citizens. It has encouraged originality, and stimulated every nation to find and pursue its own vocation and to develop to the fullest degree its national genius and character. And, meanwhile, it has promoted among the citizens of every land in which it has taken root a sense of public duty, and the growth of a spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion to the commonwealth.

To the ordinary mind such results are matter for congratulation'; and yet in all times there have been a few individuals superior to the considerations by which ordinary minds are influenced, who have harped on the abuses to which, like every other virtue, Patriotism is liable, and have

chanted the claims of some abstract Humanity, in preference to those of their native country.

Among the ancients a school of philosophy taught that the world at large was the country for which alone all should work and make sacrifices.

I am not aware that the world at large benefited by these theories, but it is curious to note that the same Horace who taught us that it was "sweet and seemly to die for one's country," also declared in the true cosmopolitan spirit that "the brave man was at home in every land, as fishes in the ocean." Philosophers in all ages have been fond of paradox, and somewhat indifferent to the practical application of their principles. The Encyclopædists and some of the German philosophers professed a similar doctrine; and in the early days of the French Revolu-

tion the Human Race was welcomed to the Constituent Assembly with Anacharsis Clootz as their Speaker. But common-sense and Patriotism were too strong for the theories of sentimentalists, and Clootz and his followers disappeared—"spectre chimeras," as Carlyle calls them, "who flit squeaking and gibbering till oblivion swallows them."

The fact is that a vague attachment to the whole human race is a poor substitute for the performance of the duties of a citizen; and professions of universal philanthropy afford no excuse for neglecting the interests of one's own country. Molière makes one of his characters say—"L'ami du genre humain n'est pas du tout mon fait;" and experience shows that "l'ami du genre humain" is very likely to degenerate into "the friend of every country but his own."

But it is said, Patriotism is not to be

distinguished from Jingoism and Chauvinism. It leads to unlawful aggrandisement, to duplicity, and selfish violence, which are sought to be justified by reasons of State. It places the interests of the country above all moral standards.

It may be admitted that there is a false Patriotism which would carry to extremes the doctrine of the American Statesman, "My country, right or wrong,"—a Patriotism which panders to national vanity, and is blind to see what is good elsewhere, and which cannot conceive of benefit to one country unless it involves injury to another. But these are the abuses and not the necessary consequences of the sentiment, and they may be found in full activity in countries, such, for instance, as China and Turkey, where no national Patriotism exists.

There is, however, something worse than

this false Patriotism,—which, after all, carries no authority, and is not sanctioned by any popular approval—and that is the factious spirit which would sacrifice national interests to secure the defeat of an opponent or a personal triumph. Such a spirit animated the great Whig leader, Fox, when he rejoiced in the defeats of British arms, and gloated over the failure of our negotiations; and though I am persuaded that no party leader would now-a-days follow his example, yet we have still to guard ourselves against excess of party zeal, and a self-righteousness which “always finds his country in the wrong.”

Meanwhile let us freely recognise the truth of Bolingbroke’s axiom, however ill he may have applied it, that “Patriotism must be founded on great principles and supported by great virtues.” It involves duties as well

as privileges, and these duties arise in connection with the domestic relations of the citizen to his country as well as in all that concerns the attitude of the country towards foreign nations. In both cases the idea of Patriotism involves that of personal sacrifice. Our obligations do not end with obedience to the laws, and the payment of taxes. These things are compulsory, and involuntary evidence of our love of country, since the police insist on the one, and the Treasury takes good care of the other. But we give a free and additional proof of Patriotism in taking our full share of public work and responsibility, including the performance of those municipal obligations on the due fulfilment of which the comfort, the health, and the lives of the community, so largely depend. One of the most satisfactory features of modern times is the

greater interest taken by the educated and leisured class in the unambitious but most useful work of local institutions, while in national politics the pecuniary disinterestedness and integrity of our public men has now been for a long time a marked feature of our political life. It is not necessary to refer to the gross corruption of Sir Robert Walpole's day to show how greatly we have advanced. In much later times the idea of serving the Nation for the Nation's sake found few supporters, and no less a personage than the great historian of the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" was not ashamed to write with naif and characteristic detachment from all but his own personal inclinations, "I went into Parliament without Patriotism and without ambition, and all my views tended to the convenient and respectable place of a Lord of Trade."

To leave politics to the politicians, whether in national or in municipal work, is as fatal to the best interests of the State as to leave to mercenaries the defence of its territories. In this generation happily a higher ideal obtains; but even now there are many who fail to see that if the country is to be what they think it is, and what they know it should be, the result can only be reached by a general display of public spirit, by the contribution of all to the common good, and by efforts to develop the nobler side of the national character, and to cure its defects.

It is, however, in our external relations that national Patriotism has its greatest opportunities and its greatest dangers. It is self evident that the primary object of every country must be to defend its freedom and independence, and to make such preparations

as are necessary for its security. But, unless it is prepared to go somewhat further than this, and to maintain its self-respect and safeguard its honour, it will inevitably incur the contempt of its enemies and lose the affection of its children. I have said that one of the fundamental ideas of Patriotism is preference. It does not follow that this preference should involve the injury of others, but each nation may legitimately strive to become richer, stronger and greater. Competition among nations, as among individuals, is the stimulus to progress. Each nation has its distinctive qualities and special capacities. To discover them, and to encourage their exercise, is to fulfil the national mission and calls for the display of all the virtues of Patriotism.

The special mission of the United Kingdom has been clearly marked out by

her insular position and by the qualities of her people—by their love of adventure, their power of organisation, and by their commercial instincts. It is to be seen persistently colouring all her later history through which the steady expansion of the Empire has proceeded, and during which she has, sometimes unconsciously, sometimes even unwillingly, been building up and consolidating that great edifice of Imperial dominion which is now as much a necessity of our national existence as it is a legitimate source of national pride.

There is a small minority, no doubt, who view with little satisfaction the astounding spectacle of their country's greatness, who carp at our titles of possession, condemn the methods of acquisition, and attribute to the lowest motives of greed and to a vulgar desire for aggrandisement the extension of

British rule in so many quarters of the globe.

This is a very one-sided and jaundiced conception of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain, and leaves altogether out of sight the fact that, unlike those vast aggregations of territory in the past which form the only precedent to such a dominion, it has been the aim and practice of the founders of our Empire to extend its citizenship as widely as possible and to induce in every part that sense of equal possession in all its privileges and glories on which a common Patriotism may be founded.

The Makers of Venice, with whose peculiar circumstances as a commercial community, dependent for its existence on its command of the sea, we have much in common, declared it to be their principal object "to have the heart and the affec-

tion of our citizens and subjects;" and in adopting this true principle of empire they found their reward in the loyalty of their colonies and dependencies when the Mother City was threatened by enemies whom her success and prosperity had raised against her.

We have gone far in imitating her example; and wherever our rule has been established peace and progress, and security to life and property, have followed in its train, and have materially improved the condition of the native population. If the annals of our conquests have been occasionally stained by crimes of oppression and rapacity, they have also been illustrated by noble deeds of courage, endurance and self-sacrifice; and it is ungrateful to refuse to the adventurers and the pioneers, whose enterprise has

built up the Empire, a generous recognition of their difficulties and a just appreciation of their motives.

Let us by all means impress on all who exercise authority the maxim of the Venetian statesmen, and let us inculcate justice and honesty in all our dealings with native races ; but let us discourage the calumnies by which some of the bravest and best of our countrymen have been defamed, and cheer them by a full recognition of the services which they have rendered. There is something unworthy in the eagerness with which the representatives of universal philanthropy clutch at every accusation of perfidy and cruelty which is brought against those who are risking life or reputation in our service, and use these unproved charges in order to enforce arguments for shirking our responsibility and limiting our obliga-

tions—for a little England and a policy of surrender.

Nowhere can such reasoning be more distasteful than in Scotland, which has given to the United Kingdom so many of its ablest administrators, its bravest soldiers, and its most devoted missionaries.

It is the clear duty of Patriotism, not dwelling over much on details, to consider in its broadest aspects this question of the expansion of the Empire in which we seem to be fulfilling the manifest destiny of our race. In such a review can any impartial mind retain a doubt that the pressure of the European and civilised races on the more backward inhabitants of other continents, has, on the whole, made for peace and civilisation and the happiness of the world?

But for this, the vast territories of the United States and of Canada might have

been left to a few hundred thousand of Indian braves, inhuman in their customs, stagnant in their civilisation, and constantly engaged in inter-tribal warfare. India would have remained the sport of contending factions, the prey to anarchy, and the constant scene of cruelty and tyranny : while Africa, depopulated by unspeakable barbarities and surrendered to the worst forms of slavery and fetichism, would have pined in vain for a deliverer.

It is no exaggeration to say that, in one single year of such conditions, more lives would be taken, and more cruelties enacted, than in all the wars that have ever been undertaken by civilised nations in furthering their work of development and colonisation.

I believe that this work has specially devolved upon our country—that it is our interest, our duty, and our national mission

to carry it to a successful issue. Is it contended that the weary 'Titan staggers under "the too vast orb of his fate," and that we have not the strength to sustain the burden of Empire? We are richer, more numerous, and in every way more powerful than our ancestors when they laid the foundations of our dominion and encountered in the task a world in arms. We have the firm assurance of the loyalty and affection of the sons of Britain across the sea, and of their readiness to play their part in the common defence. We do not lack efficient instruments for our great purpose, and we can still count on the energy and devotion of our countrymen and on their ability to win the confidence and respect of the people whom they are sent to govern for their good. On the bleak mountains of the Indian frontier, amidst the sands of the Sudan, in

the swamps and forests of Western Africa—wherever the British flag floats—Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen are to-day fronting every danger and enduring every hardship—living as brave men and dying as heroes—in the faithful performance of duty and the passionate love of their country. They ask from us that their sacrifices shall not be in vain.

If such is still the spirit of our people, why should we shrink from our task, or allow the sceptre of empire to fall from our hands,

“Thro’ craven fears of being great?”

I have faith in our race and our nation. I believe that, with all the force and enthusiasm of which Democracy alone is capable, they will complete and maintain that splendid edifice of our greatness, which, commenced under aristocratic auspices, has received in

these later times its greatest extension ; and that the fixity of purpose and strength of will which are necessary to this end will be supplied by that National Patriotism which sustains the most strenuous efforts and makes possible the greatest sacrifices.

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